

Pennsylvania's Identity Crisis



Rushed Implementation of Voter ID Law Putting Voting Rights at Risk

By Sharon Ward

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The Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center is a non-partisan policy research project that provides independent, credible analysis on state tax, budget and related policy matters, with attention to the impact of current or proposed policies on working families. Learn more at <http://www.pennbpc.org>.

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Executive Summary

Pennsylvania is one of several states that have taken action over the past decade to impose new requirements on voters seeking to cast a ballot. Pennsylvania's new law, enacted in March 2012, is one of the nation's most demanding voter ID laws, resulting in large numbers of eligible voters having to secure new identification.

The U.S. Supreme Court has established that state voter ID laws may be constitutional if they meet specific requirements. Chief among these are that voter ID is available free to voters who do not have acceptable identification and that securing an ID does not place an undue burden on voters.

In this report, the Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center (PBPC) has documented the experience that voters would have when seeking to obtain an ID through the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PennDOT), the agency responsible for issuing the free ID. PBPC recruited volunteers who made 47 visits to 43 PennDOT offices in 28 counties to observe how the law was being implemented. The 43 offices in our sample are representative of the geographical distribution of all PennDOT offices issuing non-driver photo ID and serve 73% of Pennsylvania's population.

Volunteers were asked to observe if signage was visible, if documents necessary to obtain a free ID were readily available, and if the staff they encountered were familiar with the request for an ID and able to direct them appropriately. Since access to a free ID is critical to the constitutionality of the law, we asked voters to indicate if PennDOT staff volunteered information that an ID could be obtained for free.

We also looked at the location and hours of operation of PennDOT driver's license centers, which are the primary point of contact for most voters.

Our findings:

- In only 13% of observations was there signage in the reception area indicating a voter ID could be obtained. In almost half the visits, neither signs nor written information was observed.
- While most PennDOT staff encountered by our volunteers were familiar with the request for voter ID, in nearly half the visits individuals were given incomplete or inaccurate information.

- Few PennDOT staff volunteered that a voter ID could be acquired for free, and in three in 10 cases, volunteers were told incorrectly that they would have to pay.
- The standard form for obtaining a non-photo ID does not indicate that it is available for free to certain voters, and a second form required to get the ID was not readily available.
- The number and hours of operation of PennDOT offices are quite limited. There are 71 driver's license centers in all of Pennsylvania, and nine counties do not have any centers at all. In an additional 20 counties, the driver's license center is open three days a week or less.
- One in five volunteers had to return a second time because the Driver License center or Photo License center was closed.

Recent reports from the Department of State indicate that many more individuals may lack appropriate ID than initially expected and most will have to turn to PennDOT to secure an ID – whether it is a standard non-driver ID or a new Department of State voter ID that will be available in late August. In either case, it is incumbent on both agencies to ensure the process works smoothly. Based on the observations of our volunteers, currently it does not.

Pennsylvania's voter ID law is restrictive and complicated to implement for Pennsylvania's large population in such a short period of time. The process to secure identification is not well established, having undergone numerous changes in the four months since the law was enacted. It is at this time unclear whether the Commonwealth has the ability to ensure ID is available to all who need it by the November election. Given the consequence – disenfranchising Pennsylvania voters – the Commonwealth should consider delaying the law until its procedures are more firmly established and its processes improve.

To make voter identification more readily available, the Commonwealth should expand the number of sites where voting ID can be obtained, provide mobile ID units for voters who lack transportation, provide clear, uniform information across all sites, improve signage and implement training of staff responsible for issuing ID.

Pennsylvania's Voter ID Law

The Pennsylvania General Assembly adopted one of the nation's most restrictive voter ID laws in 2012. Act 18 of 2012, enacted in March, requires all Pennsylvania voters to present photo identification in order to cast a valid ballot. This new requirement affects six million Pennsylvanians who are expected to vote in November 2012.

Thirty-three states have enacted laws requiring voters to provide some proof of identification in order to vote, with 21 of those laws enacted between 2003 and 2011. Seventeen states require voters to show a photo ID prior to voting, while 16 states allow non-photo documents to establish identity.ⁱ

Of the 17 states with photo ID requirements for voting, nine states (Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin) have strict photo ID laws, which do not allow an alternative form of identity verification, such as a voter affidavit or identification by a poll worker. Only five of the nine laws are currently in effect: state courts found the Wisconsin law unconstitutional in March 2012; the laws in Texas and South Carolina are under review by the U.S. Department of Justice; and Mississippi's law requires additional legislative action.

Proponents of Pennsylvania's voter ID law have argued that it is necessary to prevent voter fraud, but have presented little evidence that fraud is a significant problem. Research from other states shows that voter fraud is exceptionally rare,ⁱⁱ and the County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania has testified that there is no evidence in either case records or informal communications from county elections officials that voter fraud is an issue.ⁱⁱⁱ

Voter ID laws have been challenged in both state and federal courts. In 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that voter ID laws could be constitutional if states met certain conditions:^{iv}

- A free photo ID for voting purposes must be available to anyone who requests it;
- The process to obtain an ID should not present an undue burden on voters; and
- States must undertake voter outreach and education efforts to ensure that voters are aware of the requirement.

Pennsylvania's voter ID law sets forth a list of acceptable forms of identification that includes a driver's license, U.S. passport, non-driver photo ID, municipal or state employee ID, military ID or identification issued by a care home or college. All forms except the military ID must have an expiration date. Voters without an acceptable ID are expected to obtain a non-driver photo ID from the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PennDOT).

The Pennsylvania Department of State (DOS) is the agency responsible for implementation of the voter ID law. Agency staff is overseeing the planned public education and outreach campaign and serving as the point of contact for county election officials. That DOS has the lead on voter ID was confirmed by both state and PennDOT officials.^{vi}

The agency with day-to-day contact with voters is PennDOT. Because of its central role in supplying the required identification, the validity of Pennsylvania's voter ID law will be largely determined by the manner in which PennDOT meets its obligation to provide IDs to Pennsylvania citizens who require them.

Much of the debate about Pennsylvania's voter ID law, prior to its passage, centered on the potential hardship it would create for voters seeking to secure an ID. Research conducted by the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University (NYU) found that 11% of Americans did not have government-issued photo identification, and the numbers for seniors, young people and low-income individuals were much higher.^{vii}

Proponents of Act 18, including Corbett Administration officials and state legislators, contended that the law would have a limited impact on Pennsylvania voters. Supporting documentation on the legislation, including fiscal notes prepared by the House^{viii} and Senate^{ix} Appropriations Committees, contained an estimate prepared by PennDOT indicating that 99.07% of registered voters had PennDOT-issued identification, and the agency expected to issue 76,048 free non-driver photo IDs in 2012. This number has been repeated by Secretary of the Commonwealth Carol Aichele in public statements promoting the law.^x

On July 3, PennDOT released data suggesting a much larger group of voters could be affected by the new voting requirement. A comparison of Pennsylvania's Statewide Uniform Registry of Elector (SURE) voter database with

PennDOT ID lists indicate that 758,939 registered voters, 9.2% of all voters, lack a PennDOT-issued ID.^{xii} Of those, 591,373, or 77.9%, were active voters, defined as having voted at least once in the past five years.

New information indicating that the July 3 data cast an overly wide net has made it very hard to know the full extent of the problem. A recent article in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that the names of prominent office holders with driver's licenses appear on the July 3 list. On the other hand, new data from the state distributed to county elections officials identifies an additional 906,000 Pennsylvanians whose ID is not currently valid for voting purposes.

In the ACLU's constitutional challenge to the state's voter ID law, an expert testifying for the plaintiffs in Commonwealth Court estimated that 10.2% of Pennsylvanians lack appropriate ID.^{xiii} In July 30 testimony before the court, Department of State officials indicated they had no idea how many people lack valid ID.^{xiv}

During the four months since the law's passage, individuals and organizations have continued to raise concerns about the hardship imposed on individuals seeking to acquire non-photo ID or the underlying documentation necessary to acquire that ID and new issues have emerged. Individuals must take time from work or travel a distance to obtain ID, while the options for establishing identity and residency are limited. Current citizens born out of state, particularly those born in Puerto Rico^{xv} or the South,^{xvi} reportedly face a particular challenge obtaining birth certificates.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has repeatedly changed procedures to address concerns about the burden on individuals seeking to obtain ID. In late May, the Department of State announced that it would allow electronic verification of birth records with the Department of Health for individuals born in Pennsylvania. On July 20, the Department of State announced that it would develop a new Department of State identification, issued by PennDOT, that would require somewhat less documentation.^{xvii} The new IDs are expected to be available beginning in late August, giving very little time before the election to work through implementation challenges similar to those documented here under the original requirements.

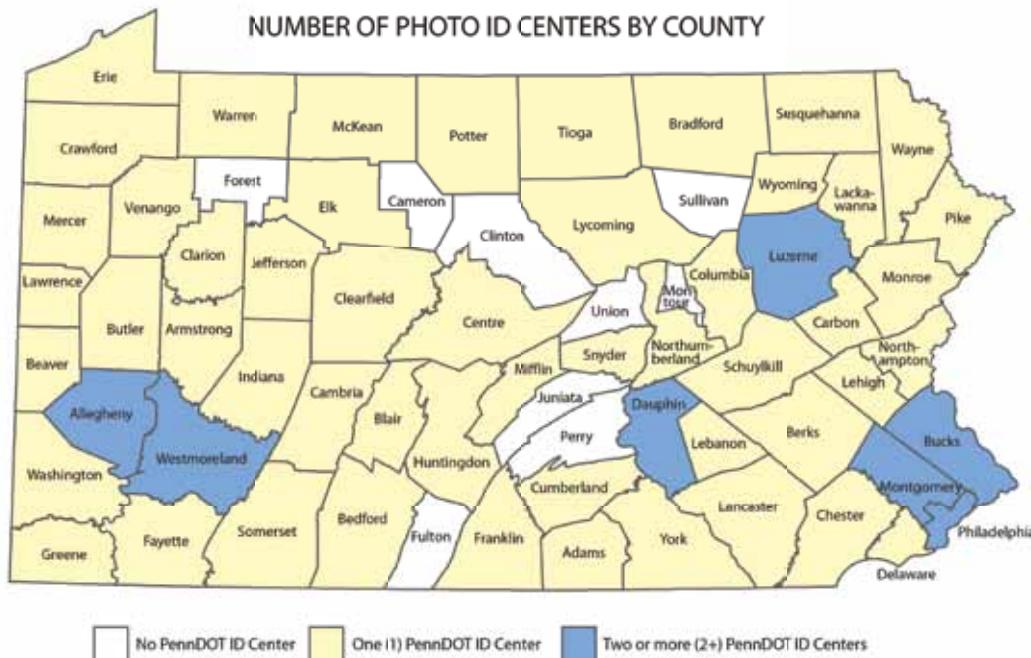
Taking time off to get an ID.

Steve Yakubisin has used two vacation days to take his 97-year-old mother to PennDOT to obtain a photo ID. Mrs. Yakubisin is a member of the Pennsylvania Voters Hall of Fame, having voted in more than 50 elections. Despite a streak to rival Cal Ripken, Mrs. Yakubisin will not be able to vote without a new voter identification.

Steve took the first day off to bring his mother to a PennDOT office in Lackawanna County, only to discover that no IDs would be issued that day. He brought his mother back the next day, arriving at 8 a.m. to ensure a spot when the office opened at 8:30. When the door was unlocked, Steve reported that more than 100 people were in line.

It took Tom Gemmill two trips to secure an ID for his 97-year-old father. After learning that he was not at the right location at a PennDOT Photo License center, Tom and his father took a second trip to the PennDOT Driver License center near his home in Lancaster. The receptionist he first encountered told him that everyone had to pay for the photo ID. When his father's application was being processed, Tom specifically asked for a free ID which the clerk helped him to secure. The process took an hour and 15 minutes and would have taken longer, but the photo technician, recognizing the elder Mr. Gemmill's fragile state, allowed him to jump to the head of the line.

Limited Number of PennDOT Centers Issuing Voter ID Cards



The first challenge facing registered voters seeking to obtain an ID is getting to a PennDOT center. The agency operates 71 Driver License centers, where individuals must first go to make an application for an ID. Those centers are open limited hours and days, and individuals seeking an ID must wait in line with others seeking driver's licenses, commercial licenses and other PennDOT products.

Nine rural counties have no driver's license centers at all, and in an additional 20 counties containing 1.5 million people, Driver License centers are open three or fewer days a week. Only seven of 67 counties have more than one driver's license center.

The PennDOT website indicates that its locations host both Driver's License centers and Photo License centers. To obtain a photo ID, a voter must first visit the Driver's License center which processes the photo ID application, then go to the Photo License center which issues the ID. The hours and days of operation for the two centers are not the same, so on a given visit, one may be open but the other may be closed.

While this process may seem intuitive to PennDOT officials, it is not well understood. As a consequence, voters may have to make more than one trip to obtain an ID.

Lack of access to motor license offices was one of the reasons leading a federal court to strike down Georgia's original voter ID law.^{xvii} Like Pennsylvania, Georgia's license centers are spaced widely apart and are not found in every county. Georgia's law created one mobile photo ID unit, but the court found that to be insufficient to ensure that voters without access to transportation would be able to secure ID. Georgia amended its law to require that every county registrar of voters provide at least one place where ID could be obtained.

Pennsylvania should consider increasing the hours and number of offices issuing photo ID through the election, and should purchase mobile voter ID units, which travel to individuals in urban and rural areas. These steps will make the process easier for voters.

Methodology: Survey Instrument and PennDOT Site Sample

A key requirement for voter ID laws to meet U.S. constitutional muster is that ID must be made available free of charge to voters who do not have acceptable ID without regard to the voter's ability to pay.

The Pennsylvania Department of State has the lead in the state's implementation efforts and in partnership with PennDOT is responsible for ensuring that voters get a free ID without undue burden. In this process, PennDOT plays a key role in protecting Pennsylvanians' constitutional right to vote and has an obligation to implement practices at its licensing centers to ensure that right is not abridged.

Within the first few weeks of the law's implementation, voters began to raise questions about the process. Reports ranged from concerns about difficulties among registered voters securing free ID, to concerns about the religious exemption, to concerns about access to documentation.^{xviii}

To ascertain the experiences of voters seeking to obtain an ID, the Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center (PBPC) recruited volunteers to observe first-hand practices at PennDOT offices.

Volunteers were recruited through the Pennsylvania Voter ID Coalition, the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters, the Alliance of Retired Americans, SEIU-Healthcare PA and nonprofit organizations that work with PBPC. We sought organizations with membership throughout the state to achieve wider geographic coverage. The surveys were conducted between June 19 and July 20, 2012. Volunteers made 47 visits to 43 PennDOT offices in 28 counties, covering 73% of Pennsylvania's population.

To facilitate a consistent and orderly process at PennDOT centers, we believed several conditions should be met: (1) the site should contain clear signage indicating that voter ID could be obtained for free, (2) staff should be able to provide consistent, accurate information to voters, (3) all forms necessary to secure an ID should be readily available.

Based on these considerations, we developed a survey instrument that looked at signage, availability of information, and staff practices and procedures. (Appendix 1 contains the survey instrument.)

Specifically, observers were asked to ascertain the following:

1. Did the PennDOT office have signage indicating that ID for voting purposes could be obtained for free?
2. Were PennDOT officials encountered by the volunteers familiar with the request for ID for voting purposes and did they provide accurate instruction to the voter?
3. Did PennDOT officials volunteer information that identification could be available for free to individuals who met the requirements?
4. Were the applicable forms readily available?

Margy Frysinger visited the Driver License center in Selinsgrove, in Snyder county. There was a long line, and she was told that she must wait on the line, even though she only wanted to ask questions. Margy was informed, incorrectly, that her father-in-law who resides in a nursing home, would have to appear in person to obtain his ID. Only when she called the nursing home did she learn that her father would be issued an ID by the facility.

Survey Findings: PennDOT Provides No Clear Roadmap to Obtaining Voter ID

Observers were asked to note if signage in the reception area made clear voter ID could be obtained for free. In 87% of licensing centers visited, almost nine in 10, there was no voter ID signage in the main reception area at all. In 30% of visits, there was signage somewhere on the premises indicating ID for voting purposes was available.

PennDOT sites did somewhat better providing printed information about the voter ID law – 23%, almost one-quarter – had information placed in an information rack somewhere on site.

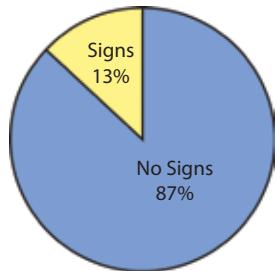
Altogether, just over half of the sites visited, 53%, had a sign somewhere or information in a rack available for voters who looked for it. In 47% of sites, no information was observed.

There was no consistency in signage or information made available to voters. Volunteers reported that a sign might consist of a single 8.5 x 11 inch flyer printed from the PennDOT or Department of State web sites affixed to a window or wall. Information available in piles or racks at the sites also varied widely, from a 20-page guide to the voter ID law, to a printout of the law, to the voter ID flyer printed from the Pennsylvania Department of State web site.

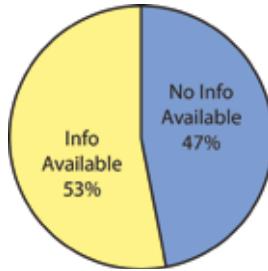
Observer Ann T. reported: “Although there were signs posted everywhere—no food or drink, no cell phones, no cash accepted, there was no sign about Voter ID.”

PennDOT Centers Offer Limited Information on Voter ID Law

Reception Areas Frequently Do Not Have Signs



Nearly Half Don't Have Voter ID Information Available



Operating Hours and Lines Limit Voter Access

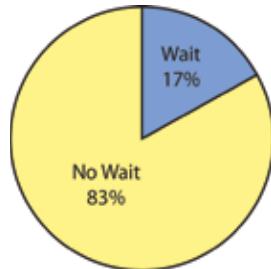
If the experience of the volunteers is any indication, getting to the proper location at the proper time can be a challenge. Just over one in five volunteers found the PennDOT Driver License center was closed on the day

they visited and had to return. Seventeen percent noted they had to wait, even to obtain information, anywhere from 20 minutes to 2 hours.

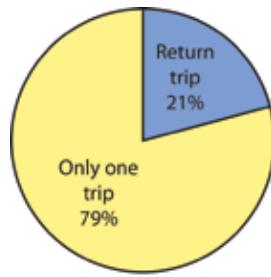
Richard K: “The entire ID section was closed. I saw three people seeking IDs turned away.”

Long Lines and Multiple Visits for Some

Few Observers Reported a Long Wait



One in Five Made Multiple Trips



Information Given by PennDOT Officials Varied Widely

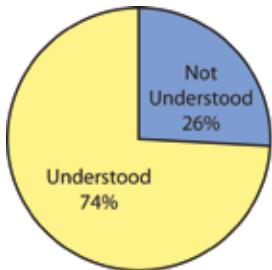
PennDOT licensing centers operate differently across the state. A majority of the sites visited had a reception area or information desk where voters could ask to be directed to the appropriate location. In some cases, volunteers simply took a number and waited to be called, and in others, a security guard or clerk asked if they could offer assistance.

We asked volunteers to assess whether the individual they initially encountered understood their request for a photo ID for voting and directed them appropriately. We reviewed their specific comments to ascertain if they were given correct or incorrect information during the first encounter.

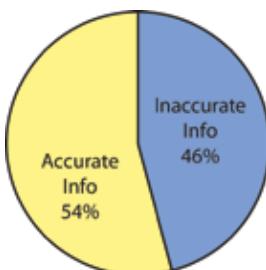
In the vast majority of cases, 74% of the time, the person whom the volunteer initially encountered, whether at an information desk, a security officer or other staff, was familiar with their request. In 26% of cases, the staff was unfamiliar with the request. The accuracy of information provided to the volunteers varied from site to site: in 46% of cases, almost half, the staff misunderstood the request or misdirected the person, giving them information that proved to be incorrect or the wrong form. When the staff person was unfamiliar with the requirements of the law and directed the volunteer to someone else, the response was coded as accurate.

Inconsistent Information Provided to Observers

One in Four Requests are Misunderstood



Inaccurate Information Provided to Almost Half of Observers



Steve J.: "The clerk told me if you have ever had a prior license or ID you cannot get an ID for free. Period. Free IDs are only for people who have never had a driver's license or ID in Pennsylvania before."

Marcina M.: "The office was very frustrated with attempts to answer questions. They didn't know the 'terms' of [the] new law and had to call Harrisburg for answers. One office worker said, 'I knew this would happen.' They were nice but unsure of procedures."

Little Information About Free ID

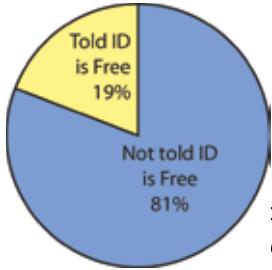
Because many seeking ID would be unfamiliar with the law, we asked volunteers to ascertain whether PennDOT officials volunteered information that the ID could be obtained for free, at either the initial encounter or the driver's license processing window.

Volunteers reported that in eight out of 10 cases, 81%, staff did not inform them either during the initial encounter or in the processing area that ID could be available for free.

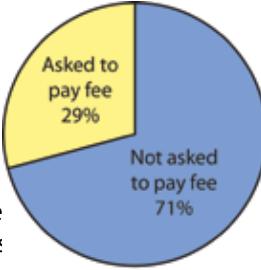
In three out of 10 cases, voters were told incorrectly that they were required to pay for the ID.

Few Informed that ID Could be Obtained at No Cost

Most Observers Were Not Informed That Voter ID May be Free



Customers Incorrectly Asked to Pay



(1) form DL-54A, which is the standard application for any individual seeking a non-driver photo ID, and (2) an affirmation indicating he or she is registered to vote and has no other valid form of ID.

The DL-54A gives applicants three reasons for requesting a photo ID, and lists the fee associated with each option. Option 1 is for an individual who has never held an ID or driver's license, which clearly lists a fee of \$13.50. Option 2 indicates that an ID can be obtained for free for individuals who surrender their driver's license for health reasons. All other options listed on the form indicate the applicant must pay a fee of \$13.50. The form has not been modified to list voter ID as one of the reasons an applicant can obtain an identification card.

The paper documentation available to voters at sites reaffirms that the ID costs \$13.50. In some sites, a flyer developed by the Department of State was available stating that the ID is free; in others, volunteers received PennDOT documentation clearly stating the cost was \$13.50, with no exceptions. (Appendix 2 has some examples.)

The Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center obtained through a freedom of information request a copy of policy guidance issued by PennDOT to its staff with respect to issuing free ID. Beginning in a communication on March 28, PennDOT officials distributed a matrix listing situations staff might encounter when a customer requests an ID for voting. It lists three instances when an ID may be issued for free: (1) when there is no product meeting the ID requirements to vote; (2) when an ID is expired for more than 12 months; and (3) when a driver's license has expired for more than 12 months. Our volunteers' experience suggests PennDOT employees were not well informed of the policies and did not follow the guidance.

Forms Not Readily Available

A critical part of the process to obtain ID is access to the affirmation form for voting. Our volunteers found in 53% of the cases, more than half the time, the form was not visible for the observer to take or offered by the processing clerk. Volunteers were also asked to observe whether the form requesting electronic verification of a birth was available in print form anywhere on site. Of those who specifically looked for that form, only 22% observed that it was available.

Comment from observer: PennDOT official refused to give me forms for my friend, saying they had to come themselves.

Conclusions and Recommendations

While some of our volunteers obtained clear and accurate information at the PennDOT licensing centers; many did not. Volunteers found long waits, no signs, and information that was not prominently displayed, and they found some staff who were not fully versed in the requirements of the law.

The limited hours of operation at PennDOT centers could be a significant barrier to individuals who wish to acquire a voter ID. Observers saw people turned away on days when IDs were not being processed and long lines when they were. The combination of limited office locations, limited hours and long lines makes acquiring an ID in order to vote a time consuming process for many customers.

The primary form required to process a non-driver photo ID, the DL-54A, has not been altered to indicate to PennDOT staff or customers that an ID could be available for free to registered voters. Unless customers are familiar with the law and act affirmatively to secure the affirmation form, they are likely to pay for an ID that could be obtained for free, or for those without funds, not obtain an ID at all.

Pennsylvania's voter ID law is restrictive and complicated to implement for the state's large population in such a short period of time. The evidence from our survey of 43 license centers indicates that PennDOT procedures have not been consistently nor adequately modified to accommodate the voter ID law, and the failure to do so creates barriers for voters who will need ID to vote. The process to secure identification is not well established, having undergone numerous changes in the four months since the law was enacted.

Introducing a new type of voter ID so close to the election is likely to compound the problems documented in this report. It is a tall order to ask a large organization to flawlessly administer a new, unfamiliar product in a short period of time. This raises serious questions about whether the Commonwealth has the ability to ensure ID is available to all voters who need it by Election Day.

Recommendations

If the implementation of this law falls short, the consequences are significant – the disenfranchising of a larger number of Pennsylvania voters. In light of that, the Commonwealth should consider delaying the law until its procedures are more firmly established and its processes improve.

We also recommend that PennDOT:

- Change the DL-54A to clearly state that individuals applying for ID for voting purposes can obtain it for free.
- Expand hours of operation so appropriate ID can be obtained five days a week at all locations.
- Provide clear signage and informational material indicating that ID can be obtained and is available for free, and ensure all information is available in multiple languages.
- Ensure that all appropriate forms are readily available and uniformly issued to those seeking an ID for voting purposes.
- Publish weekly statistics on the number of photo IDs issued to individuals 17 and over at all locations and the number of free IDs issued.
- Institute rigorous training for PennDOT workers to ensure familiarity with procedures and understand their role in protecting Pennsylvanians right to vote.

Malcolm Drummond is a retiree who volunteers his time at a Philadelphia hospital. In June, he took 16 people from his church and the surrounding community to a city PennDOT office to get their ID. The group was asked to bring proper documentation.

At the security desk, the group was told they would have to pay in order to obtain an ID. Only 4 of the 16 had the funds necessary to obtain the ID, so the other 12 left without it.

Endnotes

ⁱ The National Conference of State Legislators (NCSL) categorizes state voter ID laws as "strict" or "non-strict." Pennsylvania is one of five states with "strict" voter ID laws in effect for 2012. National Conference of State Legislators, "Voter Identification Requirements," July 2, 2012, <http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/elections/voter-id.aspx#Kansas>.

ⁱⁱ Justin Levitt, *The Truth About Voter Fraud*, Brennan Center For Justice at New York University School of Law, November 9, 2007, http://brennan.3cdn.net/e20e4210db075b482b_wcm6ib0hl.pdf.

ⁱⁱⁱ Douglas E. Hill, "County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania (CCAP) testimony for the House State Government Committee Hearing on HB 934 and HB 647," March 18, 2012, <http://www.pacounties.org/GovernmentRelations/Documents/VoterIDHStateMemo20100318.pdf>.

^{iv} Crawford v. Marion County Election Bd., 553 U.S. 181, 199 (2008) <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/07pdf/07-21.pdf>.

^v Jennie Bowser, "Voter ID: An Overview," National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), November 30, 2011, <http://www.ncsl.org/documents/legismgt/JBowserVoterID.pdf>.

^{vi} Pennsylvania Budget and Policy Center (PBPC) staff communication with Ron Rumen of the Pennsylvania Department of State and Jan McKnight of the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation.

^{vii} Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, "Citizens Without Proof: A Survey of Americans' Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship and Photo Identification," November 2006, http://www.brennancenter.org/page/-/d/download_file_39242.pdf

^{viii} Tim Rodrigo, *House Committee on Appropriations Fiscal Note, House Bill 934, Printers Number 3166*, March 10, 2012, <http://www.legis.state.pa.us/WU01/LI/BI/FN/2011/0/HB0934P3166.pdf>.

^{ix} *Senate Appropriations Committee Fiscal Note, House Bill 934, Printers Number 3166*, March 6, 2012, <http://www.legis.state.pa.us/WU01/LI/BI/SFN/2011/0/HB0934P3166.pdf>.

^x Jeanette Krebs, "Voter ID numbers cause more questions," *The (Harrisburg) Patriot-News*, July 7, 2012, http://www.pennlive.com/editorials/index.ssf/2012/07/voter_id_causes_more_questions.html.

^{xi} Pennsylvania Department of State, "Department of State and PennDOT Confirm Most Registered Voters Have Photo ID," July 3, 2012, [http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/http://www.portal.state.pa.us:80/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_879406_1265323_0_0_18/rls-DOS-VoterIDConfirm-070312%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/http://www.portal.state.pa.us:80/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_879406_1265323_0_0_18/rls-DOS-VoterIDConfirm-070312%20(2).pdf).

^{xii} Bob Warner, "Latest voter-ID data add confusion," *The (Philadelphia) Inquirer*, July 29, 2012, http://www.philly.com/philly/news/20120729_Latest_voter-ID_data_add_confusion.html?page=1&c=y.

^{xiii} Lauri Lebo, "Voter ID Trial Day 4: State really has no idea how many are without valid voter ID," *Speaking Freely: Official blog of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Pennsylvania*, July 30, 2012, <http://www.aclupa.blogspot.com/2012/07/voter-id-trial-day-4-state-really-has.html>.

^{xiv} Puerto Rico invalidated birth certificates issued prior to 2010. See: Jeff Diamant, "N.J. residents born in Puerto Rico are required to get new birth certificates to curb forgeries," *The (New Jersey) Star-Ledger*, March 8, 2010, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2010/03/nj_residents_born_in_puerto_ri.html.

^{xv} Risa L. Goluboff and Dahlia Lithwick, "A Fraudulent Case: The ugly parallels between Jim Crow and modern day voter-suppression laws," *Slate.com*, October 20, 2011, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2011/10/voter_id_laws_their_proponents_should_have_to_answer_for_the_ugly.single.html.

^{xvi} Bob Warner, "Pennsylvania to ease rules for obtaining voter ID," *The (Philadelphia) Inquirer*, July 21, 2012, http://articles.philly.com/2012-07-21/news/32777277_1_new-cards-id-card-penndot-ids.

^{xvii} Vishal Agraharkar, Wendy Weiser, and Adam Skaggs, *The Cost of Voter ID Laws: What the Courts Say*, Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, February 17, 2011, http://www.brennancenter.org/content/resource/the_cost_of_voter_id_laws_what_the_courts_say/.

^{xviii} A sampling of news reports include: Jan Murphy, "Religious questions for Pennsylvania voter ID law draw fire," *The (Harrisburg) Patriot-News*, April 8, 2012, http://www.pennlive.com/midstate/index.ssf/2012/04/religious_questions_for_pennsy.html.

Tom Barnes, "Air Force veteran testifies Pa. voter ID law could prevent him from casting ballot," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 30, 2012, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/local/state/air-force-veteran-testifies-voter-id-law-could-prevent-him-from-casting-ballot-646865/>.

Bob Warner, "Analysis: Philly voters over 80 would be most inconvenienced by new ID law," *The (Philadelphia) Inquirer*, July 19, 2012, http://articles.philly.com/2012-07-19/news/32731232_1_id-law-penndot-id-absentee-ballot-applications.

Appendix 1

Survey Number: _____
County: _____

VOTER ID SURVEY OF PENNDOT DRIVER LICENSE CENTERS ONLY

Location: _____

SIGNAGE

1. Is a sign posted in the main reception area indicating that a non-driver Photo ID is available free of charge for individuals at the location?

YES _____ NO _____

2. Is a sign or signs posted in any location indicating that a non-driver photo ID is available at the location?

YES _____ NO _____

COMMENT: _____

INFORMATION DESK

3. Did the clerk at the information desk understand your request?

YES _____ NO _____

4. Did the clerk mention at all that the ID was free?

YES _____ NO _____

5. Were you directed to the appropriate for processing your request?

YES _____ NO _____

COMMENT: _____

ID PROCESSING AREA

6. Was the clerk familiar with your request for a non-driver Photo ID?

YES _____ NO _____

7. Did the clerk volunteer information that the ID is available free of charge?

YES _____ NO _____

8. Did the clerk give you the DL-54A non-Photo ID application form?

YES _____ NO _____

9. Did the clerk give you the affirmation form which is required to get a free ID?

(Called the **AFFIRMATION THAT THE VOTER DOES NOT POSSESS ID FOR VOTING PURPOSES**)

YES _____ NO _____

10. Are copies of the **AFFIRMATION** form readily available on the desk or counter?

YES _____ NO _____

Please return surveys to PA Budget Policy Center: frank@keystoneresearch.org or fax to 717-255-7193
For information please call Sharon Ward @ 717-255-7155, ward@pennbpc.org

11. Are copies of the form **HD01564F** (Request for Birth Certificate for Voter ID purposes Only) readily available on the desk or counter?

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

COMMENTS:

Appendix 2

APPLICATION FOR INITIAL
IDENTIFICATION CARD

Bureau of Driver Licensing
P.O. Box 68272
Harrisburg, PA 17106-8272

A		LAST NAME		JR./ETC	
FIRST NAME		MIDDLE NAME			
DATE OF BIRTH		HEIGHT		SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER OR DRIVER'S LICENSE NUMBER	
MONTH	DAY	YEAR	FEET	INCHES	SEX
Telephone Number (8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.)					
EYE COLOR (please check one): <input type="checkbox"/> BLUE <input type="checkbox"/> BROWN <input type="checkbox"/> GREEN <input type="checkbox"/> HAZEL <input type="checkbox"/> PINK <input type="checkbox"/> BLACK <input type="checkbox"/> GRAY <input type="checkbox"/> DICHROMATIC <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER _____					
CURRENT ADDRESS - A post Office Box number may be used in addition to the actual residence address, but cannot be used as the only address.					
STREET ADDRESS			STATE	ZIP CODE	
CITY			PA		
If this is a change of address and you are a registered voter in PA, would you like us to notify your county voter registration office of this change?			<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	If you are not a registered voter, you may contact your county voter registration office.
Do you hold a current/valid out-of-state driver's license?			<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	If yes, you must surrender your out-of-state valid license.
B CHECK APPLICABLE BLOCK BELOW: FEE INFO.					
1. <input type="checkbox"/> I HAVE NEVER HELD A PENNSYLVANIA DRIVER'S LICENSE OR IDENTIFICATION CARD AND I AM APPLYING FOR AN INITIAL IDENTIFICATION CARD. (You must apply in person at any Driver License Center.) \$13.50					
2. <input type="checkbox"/> I CURRENTLY HOLD A PENNSYLVANIA DRIVER'S LICENSE AND AM APPLYING FOR A NON-DRIVER IDENTIFICATION CARD FOR THE FOLLOWING REASON: FREE					
<p><input type="checkbox"/> I am surrendering my driving privilege for health reasons that may affect my ability to safely operate a motor vehicle.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I understand that my license will not be reissued until I successfully complete the appropriate examination. (If you have not already surrendered your Driver's License/ Learner's Permit, please attach it to this application.)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I am voluntarily surrendering my driving privilege with the understanding that it will be retained for a minimum of six months as required by 67 Pa. Code 93.2. It is understood that I will not be permitted to apply for my driver's license, Class A through M inclusive, for a period of six months. (Attach Driver's License/ Learner's Permit.) A VOLUNTARY SURRENDER WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED AS CREDIT TOWARD A SUSPENSION, RECALL, CANCELLATION, OR REVOCATION. \$13.50</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> As a result of my parent's or guardian's withdrawal of consent for me to drive a motor vehicle (Attach Driver's License/ Learner's Permit.) PLEASE NOTE: A DL-100A MUST ACCOMPANY THIS APPLICATION. \$13.50</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> As a result of the suspension of my driver's license. License MUST be attached. If not, you MUST complete the ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: I _____ \$13.50</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(PRINT NAME)</p> <p>hereby acknowledge that my driving privilege is suspended/revoked/disqualified in Pennsylvania and my</p> <p>A. <input type="checkbox"/> License issued by Pennsylvania has expired.</p> <p>B. <input type="checkbox"/> License issued by Pennsylvania has been: <input type="checkbox"/> Lost <input type="checkbox"/> Stolen <input type="checkbox"/> Mutilated When? _____ How? _____ \$13.50</p> <p>C. <input type="checkbox"/> License issued by Pennsylvania has been surrendered to or confiscated by the Police/Court. When? _____ What Police Department/County? _____</p> <p>D. <input type="checkbox"/> License issued by Pennsylvania has been previously surrendered to PennDOT to serve an existing period of suspension. When? _____ Why were you suspended? _____</p>					
3. <input type="checkbox"/> I DESIRE TO HAVE AN IDENTIFICATION CARD ALONG WITH MY CURRENT/EXPIRED PENNSYLVANIA DRIVER'S LICENSE. \$13.50					
C CERTIFICATION (SIGN AND ENTER DATE OF APPLICATION)					
<p>I certify under penalty of law that all information given on this application is true and correct. I hereby authorize the Social Security Administration to release to the Department of Transportation information concerning my Social Security Identification Number for the purpose of identification. If using a Messenger Service, I hereby authorize the Department to furnish them with my driving record for the purpose of processing this form.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I wish to contribute \$1.00 to the Organ Donation Awareness Trust Fund (see reverse).</p>					
<p>SIGN HERE</p> <p>APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE IN INK</p> <p>DATE</p>					
<p>WARNING: Misstatement of Fact is a misdemeanor of the third degree punishable by a fine of up to \$2,500 and/or imprisonment up to 1 year (18 Pa. C. Section 4904 (b)).</p>					
<p>REQUEST FOR ORGAN DONOR DESIGNATION/PARENTAL CONSENT</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I am under the age of 18 years and I hereby request Organ Donor designation on my Pennsylvania I.D. Card. Applicants 18 years of age or older will have the opportunity to request Organ Donor designation at the Photo Driver's License Center at the time they have their photo taken.</p> <p>I hereby certify that I am a <input type="checkbox"/> Parent, <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian, <input type="checkbox"/> Person in Loco Parentis, or <input type="checkbox"/> Spouse at least 18 years of age and I:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Do give consent</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Do NOT give consent for applicant's request for Organ Donor designation.</p>					
<p>SIGN HERE</p> <p>SIGNATURE OF PARENT, GUARDIAN, PERSON IN LOCO PARENTIS, OR SPOUSE AT LEAST 18 YEARS OF AGE</p> <p>DATE</p>					
D RESIDENCY REQUIREMENTS (PLEASE CHECK TWO)(DEPARTMENTAL USE ONLY)					
<p><input type="checkbox"/> Mortgage Documents <input type="checkbox"/> Lease Agreements <input type="checkbox"/> W-2 Form <input type="checkbox"/> Tax Records</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Current Weapons Permit (for U.S. Citizens Only) <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Current Utility Bills (<input type="checkbox"/> water, <input type="checkbox"/> gas, <input type="checkbox"/> electric, <input type="checkbox"/> cable) *Cellular/mobile or paper bills are not acceptable</p>					
ID NUMBER: _____					
<p>SIGN HERE</p> <p>SIGNATURE OF EXAMINER</p> <p>DATE</p> <p>BADGE NO.</p> <p>EXAM CENTER</p>					
<p>VERIFICATION OF BIRTH DATE AND IDENTITY</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Birth Certificate</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Other _____</p>					

APPLICANT INFORMATION

You must be at least 10 years of age or older to obtain a Pennsylvania Identification Card.

If you are under 18 years of age your parent, guardian, person in loco parentis, or spouse who is 18 years of age or older must accompany you. Proper identification is required and if the last names are different, verification of relationship is needed.

- **Out-of-State Address Change:** We may not issue driver license products to an out-of-state address, except in the case of an employee of the federal or state government, armed forces personnel, and immediate members of their families, whose workplace is located outside of Pennsylvania. If this exception applies to you, please check the appropriate box and include documentation of your status with this application. Attach a letter from your employer on their letterhead to document your status, or attach a copy of your current Photo ID issued by your employer. If you are the immediate family of a person meeting one of the allowable exceptions, attach the documentation of the person employed. Additionally, you must indicate your relationship to that person.

I certify that my workplace is located out-of-state and I am employed by, or am the immediate family of a person employed by:

US Armed Forces Federal Government Pennsylvania State Government

Relationship to person meeting exemption (check one): Spouse Dependent Child

SECTIONS A, B & C MUST BE COMPLETED IN THEIR ENTIRETY. PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT IN BLUE OR BLACK INK ALL INFORMATION.

If you checked Block 1 in Section B, you must apply in person at a Driver License Center with the identity and residency documents listed below. If you are under 18 years of age, your parent, guardian, person in loco parentis, or spouse who is 18 years of age or older must accompany you. Proper identification is required and if the last names are different, verification of relationship is needed. **PLEASE NOTE: Driver License Centers do not accept cash or credit cards. You must pay by check or money order.**

If you checked Block 2 or Block 3 in Section B, you can mail your completed and signed application, along with your check or money order payable to "PennDOT", to the: **Bureau of Driver Licensing, P.O. Box 68272, Harrisburg, PA 17106-8272.**

TO MEET IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS You MUST Present the Following:

U.S. CITIZENS

Social Security Card (card cannot be laminated) **AND ONE** of the following:

- Birth Certificate with raised seal (**U.S. issued by an authorized government agency, including U.S. territories or Puerto Rico. Non-U.S. Birth Certificates will not be accepted.**)
- Certificate of U.S. Citizenship (**USCIS Form N-560**)
- Certificate of Naturalization (**USCIS Form N-550 or N-570**)
- Valid U.S. Passport
- **If you have an Out-of-State Driver's License, it must be presented with one of the above forms of identification.**

NOTE: ONLY VALID PASSPORTS AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS WILL BE ACCEPTED. If the name on your original document differs from your current name, you must provide an original Marriage Certificate, Divorce Decree, or Court Order document.

NON-U.S. CITIZENS

Bring All of the following:

- Social Security Card, or letter from SSA indicating that SSA did not make a decision yet, or SSA rejection letter
- Valid Passport
- All original (USCIS) documents
- Written verification of attendance from school (**Student Status Only**)
- Written verification from employer (**Employment Status Only**)

To obtain detailed information regarding "identity/residency requirements", you can:

- Visit www.dmv.state.pa.us
- Call us at 1-800-932-4600 or 1-800-228-0676 (TDD), Monday through Friday from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

TO MEET RESIDENCY REQUIREMENTS You MUST Present TWO of the Following (for customers 18 years of age or older):

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lease Agreements • Current Utility Bills (water, gas, electric, cable, etc.) <p style="margin-top: -10px;">*Cellular/mobile or pager bills are not acceptable</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mortgage Documents • W-2 Form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current Weapons Permit (for U. S. Citizens Only) • Tax Records
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Note: If you reside with someone, and have no bills in your name, you will still need to provide two proofs of residency. One proof is to bring the person with whom you reside along with their Driver's License or Photo ID to the Driver License Center. You will also need to provide a second proof of residency such as official mail (bank statement, tax notice, magazine, etc.) that has your name and address on it. The address must match that of the person with whom you reside.

Organ Donor Awareness Trust Fund (ODTF): You have the opportunity to contribute \$1.00 to the fund. The additional \$1.00 contribution must be added to the \$13.50 fee and included in your payment by check or money order.

The department is required to obtain the Licensee's Social Security number, height and eye color under the provisions of Sections 1510(a) and/or 1609(a)(4) of the Pennsylvania Vehicle Code. This information will be used as identifying information in an attempt to minimize driver license fraud. Federal law permits the use of the Social Security number by state licensing officials for purposes of identification.